

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02986 262356Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-11 SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 /031 W

----- 025728

R 261517Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 508

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 2986

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, UR

SUBJECT: 25TH CONGRESS: CONGRESS PRESIDUM AND LEADERSHIP
INDICATORS

1. SUMMARY. ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP WERE PRESENT ON THE DAIS AT THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS, WITH SEATING IN ROUGH RANK ORDER. THE PRESIDUM ELECTED AT THE OUTSET OF THE CONGRESS WAS CONSIDERABLY LARGER THAN THE ONE ELECTED IN 1971, BUT FEW OF THE ADDITIONS APPEAR TO REFLECT PERSONNEL CHANGES OR ALTERNATIVES IN POLITICAL STATUS. PARTY REPRESENTATION ON THE PRESIDUM DECLINED WHILE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION INCREASED. THUS FAR WE HAVE SEEN NO CLEAR INDICATORS OF SHIFT IN THE LEADERSHIP EQUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SEATING ORDER OF THE POLITBURO LEADERSHIP AT THE OPENING OF THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS WAS NOT ACCORDING TO ALPHABETICAL ORDER. BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN OCCUPIED THE TWO POSITIONS CLOSE TO THE MIDDLE. TO BREZHNEV'S RIGHT WERE PODGORNY, GRISHIN, KULAKOV, SHCHERBITSKIY,
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02986 262356Z

KUNAYEV, AND GROMYKO. TO KOSYGIN'S LEFT WERE SUSLOV,

KIRILENKO, MAZUROV, PEL'SHE, POLYANSKIY, ANKROPOV, AND GRECHKO. THE CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO AND THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT WERE SEATED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND ROW AND TO THE LEFT AS THEY FACED THE AUDIENCE. FROM RIGHT TO LEFT WERE PONOMAREV, ROMANOV, USTINOV, DEMICHEV, RASHDOV, MASHEROV, SOLOMENTSEV, AND KAPUTONOV (WHO WAS SEATED WITH THE CANDIDATE MEMBERS). KATUSHEV AND DOLEIKH WERE SEATED IN THE NEXT BLOCK OF SEATS TO KAPITONOV'S LEFT. DEMICHEV AND RASHIDOV (WHO HAD THE MIDDLE SEATS AT THE BEGINNING SESSION) SWITCHED SEATS WITH MASHEROV AND SOLOMENTS, RESPECTIVELY AFTER THE FIRST INTERMISSION.

3. THE ELECTIONS TO THE CPSU PARTY CONGRESS
PRESIDIUM CONTAIN NO SURPRISES. THE ENTIRE LEADERSHIP-- IN PARTICULAR, ALL POLITBURO MEMBERS, CANDIDATE MEMBERS, AND MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT -- WERE INCLUDED (AS WAS THE CASE AT THE 23RD AND 24TH CONGRESSES). THE SIZE OF THE PRESIDIUM WAS ENLARGED TO 120 MEMBERS (45 MORE THAN IN 1971) BUT EVEN THESE ADDITIONS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE THE PREVAILING CADRE STABILITY OBSERVED AT THE REPUBLIC PARTY CONGRESSES. OF THE 66 INDIVIDUALS ELECTED TO THE PRESIDIUM FOR THE FIRST TIME, 38 WERE ELECTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OR CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION IN 1971. THEIR ADDITION TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM, THEREFORE, REPRESENTS ONLY A SLIGHT INCREASE IN THEIR POLITICAL STATUS AND DOES NOT REFLECT MAJOR PERSONNEL SHIFTS. OF THE REMAINING 28 NEW MEMBERS, 19 ARE PROBABLY WORKERS OR OTHER SYMBOLIC APPOINTEES (THIS INCLUDES INDIVIDUALS WHOSE CURRENT ASSIGNMENT IS UNKNOWN). THUS ONLY 9 INDIVIDUALS (OUT OF 120) REALLY APPEAR AS ADDITIONS TO THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CORE, AND ALMOST ALL OF THESE REPLACED INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD CONGRESS "PRESIDIUM STATUS" IN 1971. THIS GROUP INCLUDES THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF GEORGIA, ARMENIA AND LITHUANIA (SHEVARDNADZE, DEMIRCHYAN, GRISHKYAVICHYS), OBKOM FIRST SECRETARIES OF PERM, KRASNODAR, GOR'KIY AND DONETSK (KONOPLEV, MEDUNOV, KHRISTOPADNOV, AND KACHURA) AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ARKHIPOV. THEY CAN BE EXPECTED TO ACHIEVE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATUS AT THE END OF THE CONGRESS.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02986 262356Z

4. THE ELECTIONS TO THE PRESIDIUM DID REPRESENT A SLIGHT SHIFT IN INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATION, HOWEVER, GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION INCREASED FROM 15 PERCENT IN 1971 TO 27.5 PERCENT AT THIS CONGRESS; ALL DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WERE ADDED AT THIS CONGRESS. PARTY REPRESENTATION, WHILE INCREASING NUMERICALLY, DROPPED MARKEDLY FROM 65 PERCENT IN 1971 TO 48 PERCENT IN 1976. IN EFFECT, MUCH OF THE

INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF THE PRESIDIUM WAS DUE TO THE
INCREASE IN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION.

5. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE LEADERSHIP WAS SEATED IN A
PROTOCOL ORDER, THERE WERE NO HINTS IN THESE ARRANGE-
MENTS THAT ANY OF THE LEADERSHIP WAS IN POLITICAL TROUBLE.
IT WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISING TO SEE GRISHIN SEATED AHEAD
OF KULAKOV AND ON A PAR WITH KIRILENKO, BUT THE SEATING
ARRANGEMENTS ON THE WHOLE DID NOT APPEAR UNUSUAL. THE LARGE
INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM REPRESENTS
FOR THE MOST PART INCREASED RECOGNITION FOR THE GOVERNMENT
APPARATUS WHICH IN THE TWO PREVIOUS
CONGRESSES HAD RECEIVED LITTLE RECOGNITION IN THIS BODY.
WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDIUM'S COMPOSITION INDICATES
ANY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL SHIFTS IN THE FUTURE.

STOESSEL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, POLITICAL LEADERS, REORGANIZATIONS, ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW02986
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760073-0823
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760210/aaaaaifi.tel
Line Count: 132
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <12 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 25TH CONGRESS: CONGRESS PRESIDUM AND LEADERSHIP INDICATORS
TAGS: PINT, UR, CPSU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006